

Defeat the conspiracy of the bourgeois and pseudo-left parties, uphold the banner of Revolution

Comrade NIHAR MUKHERJEE'S CALL at W.B. State Conference of AIDS

The open session of the AIDS West Bengal State Conference, held on 25th of February, at the Vidyasagar Hall Maidan, Midnapur was marked by unprecedented massive gathering of students, youths teachers, educationists and other sections of the toiling people. It was a piece of historic justice that in a town with the hallowed memories of Vidyasagar, Khudiram and such illustrious sons and daughters of Bengal that the DSO Conference was defending and upholding the cause of secular-scientific-democratic and universal education that still remains unaccomplished amidst the conspiracies all around to pervert and destroy the very basis and purpose of education. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our Party, who was guest-in-chief on the occasion gave a ringing call to the students, youths and the people at large to see through the political conspiracy of bringing fascism in our country by the ruling capitalist class with the help and assistance of the bourgeois and pseudo-left parties and to defeat this conspiracy by upholding the banner of revolution that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great teacher of the proletariat unfurled in our soil and our party founded Him and its mass organisations are carrying.

The whole of Midnapur town was in great animation. It was the occasion of the 3rd State Conference of West Bengal Committee of AIDS, the only student organisation proud of having the revolutionary teachings and guidance of the great teacher of the proletariat, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers and philosophers of our time, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The Vidyasagar Hall Maidan was proved to be too small to accommodate the vast assemblage of students, teachers, educationists and other sections of the toiling people. The maidan entrance was decorated with two arches all red. On the red rostrum was the big portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and in another far corner was the pandal of Quotation Exhibition of his thoughts gleaned from the fragments so far published out of the vast treasury of revolutionary thoughts and lessons that he has bequeathed to the revolutionaries and toiling people not only of this land but the world over. About three thousand student delegates came from almost all the districts, carrying the banner and message of revolutionary thoughts and guidance of the great teacher. A big procession of thousands of delegates trekked round the town before the conference was formally inaugurated by unfurling the flag of AIDS, laying wreaths to the martyrs column by Comrade Pravash Ghosh, President AIDS. The inauguration of the Quotation Exhibition was done by a moving speech of Comrade Pravash Ghosh. We give a brief resume' of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech here along with the proceedings of the open session.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee started his long speech by saying: At the outset I must remember with reverence and paying tribute to the memories of Vidyasagar, the great soul of his time, Khudiram and other martyrs of national

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Red Salute Comrade Abdus Sadek

Calcutta February, 22:

On the last 17th February, in the evening a group of anti-socials with the backing of a particular political party, armed with fire-arms and other lethal weapons raided the house of Comrade Abdus Sadek, a prominent member of the SUCI Hariharpara Thana Committee in the Murshidabad district (West Bengal), member of the district Committee of STEA (Secondary Teachers

and Employees' Association) and an eminent organiser of the secondary teachers' movement of the district and opened fire on Comrade Sadek and his wife Comrade Swapna. Comrade Sadek breathed his last on the spot and Comrade Swapna was removed to the Berhampur Hospital in a critical state with serious bullet injury.

Let alone the fact that the local police being pressed upon by the higher

authority, till now has not made any arrest, although the detailed report of this atrocious act of homicide was immediately brought to their notice, it is reported that those miscreants are openly creating terror in the locality with the threat of murdering other organisers of the SUCI. This incident for obvious reason has generated a strong commotion among the local people.

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AIDS MARCHES AHEAD

Conferences held in States amidst great enthusiasm

Students of India are searching for a new leadership—a genuine revolutionary leadership fighting for their real cause and emancipation. They have seen the role of student organisations like the Chhatra Parisad, Vidyarthi Parisad, AISF, SFI etc. of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties like the Congress, Jansangh, CPI, CPI(M) and others. Rapidly getting disillusioned of the opportunist, compromising and even reactionary character of these student organisations students are eagerly looking for an alternative student organisation that is guided by revolutionary ethics, morality and culture, and can correctly guide the students community in all their struggles. And it is DSO led by the immortal teachings of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in which the students of India are finding that cherished leadership. It is a fact—a fact which is being glaringly vindicated through the unprecedented support to and active participation of the students and people in general in the recently concluded series of DSO conferences held in different states starting from Kerala to West Bengal, Orissa to Haryana.

The splendid success of Kerala and Orissa State Conferences inspite of all obstructions created by the ruling cliques and particularly the heinous attack on DSO leaders in Kerala Conference by the SFI goondas have been reported earlier.

The U. P. State Conference of AIDS concluded with tremendous success on 24th and 25th January last at Jaunpur Harpal Singh college ground. Enthusiastic students from far off districts like Benaras, Gorakhpur, Balia, Mahijabad, Sultanpur, Gajipur, Pratapgarh and

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SUCI Candidates Victorious in Assam

As per latest news from Assam two SUCI Candidates have come out Victorious in the election. They are Comrade Dewan Jainal Abedin and Comrade Nazmul-Haque from Salmara South and Goalpara West constituencies respectively.

The Central Committee of our Party conveys its sincerest congratulation and revolutionary greetings to the people of Assam for

rendering this unique support to the revolutionary line pursued by the party in the midst of severe opposition by the Congress and the Janata-CPI(M) combine. Our Central Committee could not but note that left forces would have achieved greater victory in Assam if our fervent appeal and all out effort for the formation of a left and democratic united front was not rejected and foiled by CPI(M) due to their opportunist politics of extending support to Janata Party.

WHY SUCI

—The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

["Why SUCI—the only genuine Communist Party on our Soil" —was being serially published since 15th October '76 issue. Altogether six instalments could come in our pages till important political developments like the elections caused interruption. The appreciation from the people of this publication, so far, of this very important speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, is worth recalling. Persons who have a genuine urge for learning the great revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism the concretised expression of which in our soil, its highest development and best elaboration have been given by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers and philosophers of the era, have evinced keen interest and great enthusiasm and constantly goad us for completing the job, long overdue.

However, we now resume the publication of this very important work of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and hope to complete it in a few more issues so that in the book form it may come out within a short time.—Editorial Board, Proletarian Era.]

(Continued from Issue dated February 1, 1977)

The CPI(M) has become a neo-revisionist party following the non-Marxist process of thinking and process of analysis of the old party

Besides, the CPI(M) leaders failed completely to grasp this all-important point while forming the party that the indispensable necessity for forming a genuine communist party based on correct revolutionary theories was first of all to bring about a break with the old revisionist and non-Marxist process of thinking and process of analysis. They took it for granted that the CPI(M) was undoubtedly the real communist party. And perhaps that is why they did not care to provide a scientific and Marxist explanation of the question as to how the leaders and cadres of this party could acquire and maintain true communist character whose process of thinking, process of study, process of analysis, base culture and education as also political life were patterned, moulded and shaped for long thirty-five or thirtysix years in the midst of revisionist and non-Marxist thought process of the old party. As they formed the new party so hastily with the leaders and cadres brought up under the influence of the old revisionist party, its process of thinking and process of analysis, and as they did not conduct the primary and all essential but painstaking struggle to accomplish the three-fold tasks in order to bring about a break with the non-Marxist process of thinking and process of analysis of the old party—the tasks I have already dealt at length earlier—they carried the heritage of the same old mental make up, method of analysis and method of approach and that is why their theory of revolution too, except certain changes in vocabularies and tactical approach, remained more or less similar to those of the old party. This party, therefore, has also become a neo-revisionist party and like the old party, and despite all attempts, it would never be possible to transform this party through reforms into a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat.

The Naxalites have no real difference with the Madurai thesis of the old CPI except in tactics and vocabulary

I should now say a few words about the Naxalites. When the present leaders of the CPI(M) formed the party out of sheer group-squabbles, drawing a good number of workers of the old party by fanning up and working on their impatience for revolution but later on swayed themselves in the easy going life of parliamentary politics, this impatience for revolution among a section of the workers actually led to the formation of the Naxalites.

But coming out of the CPI(M), they too, in complete disregard of the concrete objective condition of India, are carrying on with the same old revisionist theory of 'People's Democratic Revolution'. According to them—India has not attained political independence at all—as if this independence is merely a formal one. They say, in reality India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state. In their opinion, the stooges of imperialism—the comprador bourgeois class and the feudal lords—are practically ruling India in league with the imperialists which means that their theory of revolution too is similar to the theory of revolution adopted at Madurai in 1951, except



some differences in tactical approach and vocabularies. So we find that they are trying to pass on the very same Madurai document of the old CPI adopted under the leadership of the arch-revisionist Ajoy Ghosh as a revolutionary document in the name of following the Chinese line. It is, of course true that the Naxalites differed with the Madurai thesis only where it was related to the question of tactics of forming rear-base in the villages—but if you examine you will find that this is a tactics which was once adopted under the short-lived leadership of Rajeswar Rao.

All this happened as they formulated their theory of revolution simply by making a carbon copy of the Chinese line being dictated by their old habit of blindly copying which they inherited from the CPI. And the exaggerated reports provided by them to the Chinese leadership about the concrete situation, different incidents and the picture of mass movements of our country actually contributed to CPC's arriving at a wrong conclusion regarding the stage of revolution in India.

But is the present economic condition of India similar to that of the pre-revolutionary China? According to the analysis of the great leader of the Chinese revolution Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the pre-revolutionary Chinese economy was essentially a semi-colonial, semi-feudal, localised, self-sufficient agricultural economy. Economically, in China, national capital did not grow well even, not to speak of its acquiring imperialist features through the process of development of capitalist economy. Capitalism there was just developing that is, national capital was in its nascent stage. This national capital had been trying to develop struggling against imperialism and feudalism. This is why the Chinese national bourgeoisie had a progressive role in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution in China. And who, then, were these national bourgeoisie in China? By the term national bourgeoisie, Comrade Mao Tse-tung while discussing the stage of revolution in China meant the urban middle class and this has been referred to in "Thirty Years of Communist Party of China" by Chen Po-ta. But is this the condition in India now? Because of the old trend of these parties in our country to impose fanciful theories borrowed from others on the concrete condition of our country and to marshal fictitious and subjective arguments, so-called facts, figures and materials in their support, they have overlooked the history of development of capitalism in our country.

History of the development of Indian Capitalism

Indian mercantile capital with its handicraft merchandise substantially developed both before and even after the East India Company started trading and upto the fall of Sirajuddoula. The Indian merchants carried flourishing trade not only inside the country but also in the markets of East-Asia, South Africa, different European

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International Communist Document also recognised that Indian bourgeoisie had two sections—the Comprador and the National during the Freedom Movement

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countries even including the Great Britain. At the time of Siraj-ud-doula, his relation with the mercantile capitalists started deteriorating. As a result, a section of the mercantile capitalists particularly the houses of Jagat Seth, Umichand and others joined hands in a plot with the enemies of the Nawab along with the East India Company with the hope of getting better deal in trade and business. This resulted in the fall of Siraj in the battle of Plassey and Mirzaffar, an accomplice of the East India Company, was installed as Nawab. But what followed was completely contrary to the expectations of the mercantile capitalists for which they extended their all out support to make Mirzaffar the Nawab. Whatever additional facilities and advantage the Indian merchants used to enjoy over the British merchants during Siraj's regime were all lost at the time of Mirzaffar. Not only this; disparity crept in trade practices through the exemption of the British traders from taxes and imposition of taxes at an enhanced rate on the Indian traders.

During Mirkashim's regime, the Indian merchants strove hard to restore the additional privileges and advantages once enjoyed by them and if that was not at all possible demanded to be treated at least at par with the British merchants. Pursuant to this, Mirkashim exempted the Indian merchants from paying taxes, like the British merchants. This led to a war between Mirkashim and the East India Company. Mirkashim's defeat in this war not only firmly laid the foundation of British rule in Bengal but brought the native mercantile capital under total subjugation of the East India Company in trade and commerce. It was in the interest of the British merchants that the thumbs of the weavers of Dacca were cut off to bring ruination to the indigeneous textile crafts and gradually all other indigeneous crafts were destroyed. In this way, the powerful trade and commerce system with handicraft merchandise that had been built up over a long period in the country by the native mercantile capital that once stretched even to overseas markets, was gradually facing extinction. As a result, the Indian mercantile capitalists who in normal course, would have given rise to industrial capital and national capital became completely reduced to comprador bourgeoisie, merely dealing in foreign produce as agents of British concerns in this country. A section of the comprador bourgeoisie, accumulating capital over a long period, in this process, was showing the sign of being developed into national bourgeoisie through the gradual formation of national capital at about the time of Sepoy Mutiny. Marx's note on Sepoy Mutiny also confirms this very fact. And when this section of the comprador bourgeoisie took initiative to give shape to industrial capital on the basis of it, dawned the new consciousness of nationalist movement in the country. As one section of the comprador bourgeoisie, thus, transformed gradually into industrial bourgeoisie, the remaining section continued to exist, side by side, with its comprador character. During the freedom movement of our country, even upto 1930, the bourgeoisie was divided into two sections—the comprador and the national. At the Sixth Congress of Comintern, in his 'Colonial Thesis', Comrade Stalin also took cognizance of this very fact. In his 'Colonial thesis', this section—the national bourgeoisie which was within the Congress during the freedom struggle was referred to as the "Swarajists". The Tatas and Birlas, the leading monopoly houses of to-day, as a part and parcel of this section of the national bourgeoisie led this class through and patronised the freedom movement.

Indian Capital has to-day, undoubtedly, attained monopoly character

Through the compromise reached between the national bourgeois leadership within the Congress and the British imperialism, India's political freedom was achieved and the Indian State power was consolidated in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. Thus it is clear that the development of Indian national capital started long back and became sufficiently consolidated much earlier than the time political freedom was achieved. The leadership of the International Communist movement also could not deny this. So, we find, in 1925, Comrade Stalin while speaking at the University for the

Revolutionaries on the liberation movements of the colonies of the East, pointed out that even at that time, of all the colonies of the East, India was capitalistically the most advanced and powerful and according to Stalin the Indian national bourgeoisie already appeared as a homogeneous class. And that very national bourgeoisie became far more developed and strong through trade and commerce during the period of the Second World War and transformed itself into monopoly bourgeoisie.

But the Naxalite leaders and cadres are completely denying the existence and rise of Indian capitalism and the growth of monopoly capital in the very process of development of capitalism in our country. The birth of national capital in India, the development of indigeneous industries, the transformation of national capital into monopoly capital, the birth of financial oligarchy through the merger of industrial capital and banking capital, the exercise of control by the Indian monopolists over the industrial and even agricultural produce and the whole economic life of the country through Stock Exchanges and Banks, the birth of Indian finance capital and its export not only to the markets of Asia and Africa and different European countries but even to the USA and UK, that is to say, the attainment of imperialist character by the Indian capital—all these, according to the Naxalites are the activities of foreign finance capital labelled as Indian capital. And according to them the Indian monopolists are completely subservient to foreign imperialist powers and are working as their paid servants. They say, what passes on to-day as Indian finance capital exploiting the people of Asia and Africa is in reality either the US or British finance capital although labelled as Indian but is not of Indian origin. So, when Indian finance capital is working, even though to a limited extent, in the markets of USA and UK, if their queer logic is to be accepted, it follows then that the US and British finance capitals are first coming to India to put on Indian label and then going back even to their home countries to exploit the masses there. Even if for argument's sake, this perverse logic is accepted, then also the question remains as to how the Indian monopolists, who are, according to this analysis, nothing but stooges of imperialism can enter into competitive partnership with the foreign imperialists as members of the international trust and cartel—the international organisations of the monopolists of different countries? That the compradors, the stooges of imperialism can enter into competitive partnership in the international trust and cartel of the monopolists is a preposterous proposition nowhere to be found in any principle or formulation of Marxian political economy. This is a fact one must admit, of course if one abides by the conclusions of Leninism which Comrade Mao Tse-tung also accepts. But the Naxalites are arrogantly advancing queer logic in support of their wrong theory imposed from above over the objective condition of our country and are wishing away the long history of development of Indian capitalism as the 'Maya of Sankaracharya'.

There is no similarity between pre-revolutionary Chinese economy and the present Indian economy

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, while analysing the character of pre-revolutionary Chinese economy, has said that instead of being a unified national economy i.e. centralised capitalist economy, it was a localised, self-sufficient agricultural economy. So, whereas in China the agricultural produce was in the main, the commodity of localised rural market, in India the rural economy has come completely under the control of centralised capitalist national economy—the agricultural produce being transformed into commodities of capitalist national market and the monopoly capitalists, through their complete control of banks and Stock-Exchanges are regulating wholly this market of agricultural produce also. Not much knowledge of Economics is required to understand this. Anybody listening to the daily market bulletins of the radio can very easily get to know this truth. Thus there is a fundamental difference in the character of economy between India and pre-revolutionary China. In this connection, you should know that along with the other sections of the peasantry, the rich peasants were also considered as ally of in the strategy of Chinese revolution.

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Allahabad joined the conference as delegates in large numbers. In the open session on 24th January, as the Chief guest of the meeting Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, General Secretary of AIDO urged upon the students to rally round DSO to accomplish the task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in the country for their real emancipation following the teachings of the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Besides Comrade Mukherjee, Comrade J. Barma, Secretary, AIDSO, UP and Comrade Laksman Singh, Jaunpur Dist. Secretary of AIDSO also spoke at the meeting.

The Bihar State Conference of AIDSO started on 28th January and concluded on 30th January last at Majaffarpur in an unprecedented enthusiastic atmosphere. The whole mood, massive participation of the students, generous help extended by the common people manifested the growing impact of the revolutionary leadership of AIDSO over the students' community of the state. As many as 780 delegates from all the universities and various colleges in the State attended the delegate session of 29th and 30th January. The government too did not keep quiet. The police most illegally and forcibly occupied the venue of the delegate session even though the place had been reserved months before, to frustrate the conference.

As the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the conference Dr. Ram Prasad Pandey, Head of the Deptt. of Psychology, Mithila University and a famous educationist expressed his firm faith in AIDSO and said it is only AIDSO which can organise the students to fight back the alarming cultural and moral degradation among the students and youths of the country.

As the chief guest of the conference Comrade Pritish Chanda member of the Central Committee

of our Party addressed the open session where he mainly analysed the whole political situation in the country. In his long speech he showed how the ruling bourgeoisie in their attempt to establish two-party parliamentary system in the country created Janata Party, installed it to power as an alternative to the Congress and how Janata Party is most faithfully serving their masters—the bourgeois class, ruthlessly crushing all legitimate movements of the exploited people including the students by the use of police and administration. He also pointed out the most opportunist and revisionist character and the outrightly non-left role of the CPI(M) and its governments, in their frantic bid to pose themselves as another faithful alternative before the bourgeoisie in the two-party system. Lastly he observed, as long as this exploitative capitalist system continues to exist, whoever may come to power, all sorts of exploitation and oppression will continue to reign and to put an end to this unjust, oppressive and exploitative social system students should first come forward, organise and take active part in building up the revolutionary movements of the masses being guided by the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. Comrade Provash Ghosh, President of AIDSO in his most penetrating and rousing speech pinpointed the question of ethics, morality and the necessity of grasping the revolutionary politics as taught by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great Marxist thinker and teacher of the proletariat. He observed that it is the question of correct leadership and correct base political line which matter most in every movement be it a freedom struggle or the struggle for emancipation of the

AIDSO Marches Ahead

students, youths and the exploited masses in general from the yoke of capitalist exploitation. It was only due to the lack of genuine revolutionary leadership over the masses that the freedom struggle of our country failed to achieve the desired goal. He discussed at length about the character and role of the utter revisionist parties like CPI(M), its most deceptive policies, serving the ruling bourgeoisie and in turn getting their favour, its policy and acts of suppressing and frustrating the mass movements from within, specially where they are running the Governments in West Bengal and Tripura.

The delegate session inaugurated and presided over by Comrade N. R. Sing, a renowned mass leader of the state and a member of the Bihar State Committee of our Party unanimously elected a twenty member state council and an Executive Committee of fifteen members with Comrade Arun Singh as the Secretary and Comrade Dulal Sanyal as the President.

The Haryana state conference of AIDSO was held on 4th and 5th February last at Bhiwani. This conference will remain memorable for its success in the face of an all out challenge and attack of the ruling class, government and bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties.

The conference was held at a time when the whole student community of the state was surging in protest against the ruling Janata Government's anti-student policies, its police atrocities over the students. The other day police had brutally lathi-charged the students and arrested the students indiscriminately.

In such a situation when it was announced that the state conference of AIDSO was going to be held at Bhiwani the authorities took a very stern attitude and decided to foil it in

every possible way. The District Collector of Bhiwani began to campaign even personally in Colleges against DSO. On 25th January last in Vaisya College he himself threatened the students and directed the college principal to impose fine if the students joined the conference. He even declared that during the conference days there would be widespread indiscipline and violence in the city and girl students, for their own safety, should not go out of doors and enter the city on those days. The owner of the house who agreed to put up the delegates and the charitable organisations were forced not to provide shelter and bedding to the students. Last but not the least, the DC threw an open challenge that either the DSO state conference would be held at Bhiwani or he would remain as the DC of Bhiwani which created great sensation and wide-spread apprehension among the public about the future of the conference. And all these were done at the instance of the ruling Devilal Ministry of the Janata Party. For this purpose they were not even ashamed to join hands with the notorious Bansilal group. And strangely enough the CPI(M) workers also joined hand with them in this game.

But more they concentrated their attack against DSO more the students and the people got interested and DSO workers, supporters and sympathisers became determined to accept the challenge.

The open session of the conference was held on 4th February last at the Bhiwani Municipal Park Maidan. Apart from a large number of common people several thousand students attended the open session.

As the main speaker of the open session Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee stressed upon the necessity of knowing the revolutionary politics, practising its

norms, values and ethics. Every students must be consciously acquainted with the political development of the country. She cautioned, that the slogan of 'shun politics' is also a politics. It is the reactionary politics of the bourgeoisie and their hirelings to keep the students and the people totally ignorant of their own heinous political game and class exploitation. DSO never indulges in deception. It takes part in politics and proudly admits that it is led by the noble revolutionary politics of SUCI, the only revolutionary party on our soil founded and built by the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. But those of SFI, CP, AISF and others who bring this so-called charge against DSO for being the student wing of SUCI, they have not the courage and scruple to admit that they themselves are the student wings of CPI(M), Congress, CPI or others.

Comrade Pritish Chanda, member of the central committee, SUCI in his analytical speech unmasked the anti-people, pro-capitalist role of the Janata Party at the centre and in different states. He also laid bare the non-left pro-capitalist policies pursued by CPI(M) in West Bengal and Tripura. He said that it is this crisis-ridden moribund capitalism that is at the root of all the problems of students' life. No problem of life confronting the students community of our country can be solved without the overthrow of this exploitative capitalist order through revolution. It is the historic task of the students to consciously come forward and muster their strength in the struggle to overthrow this capitalist order for their own emancipation as well as the emancipation of the society. He urged upon the students to strengthen AIDSO for that purpose, the only genuine revolutionary students' organisation, guided by the teachings of the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

Abolishing English in Primary Stage the 'Left Front' Government is depriving the poor and common people of the easy access to higher education

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freedom movement whose hallowed memories are cherished not only by this town but by the people of our country. I know the history and place of this town in the revolutionary trend of our freedom struggle. I am also alive to the fact that they upheld in their time, the noble revolutionary urge of the country for freedom and emancipation from foreign yoke and exploitation.

Students are a part and parcel of the vast exploited multitude. Their problems, as such, cannot be thought of, nor can they be solved, in isolation from the basic ills that are at the root of social malady and degeneration. In history, whoever tried to solve the country's problems, whoever tried to emancipate the society from all the evils corroding its vitality, had, to know, first of all, the root cause of all these evils, of all these maladies. This can not be done without choosing the scientific method. Marxism-Leninism is the only science, the noblest of ideology that alone can provide the answers to all of our problems. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers and philosophers of this era has provided us with the great revolutionary thoughts and lessons which are not only the concretised expressions of Marxism-Leninism in our soil but it is Marxism-Leninism, of a newer height with newer and higher understanding and elaboration in the post-Lenin period. That is why one cannot have the proper understanding of Marxism-Leninism, today, without an understanding of his great revolutionary thoughts and lessons. Following the noble tradition of our great sons and daughters as well as of the great teachers of international working class, Comrade Ghosh appeared as the product of his time and society but like the great teachers, he taught us how to change the society and equipped us in every aspect of life which

is essential for our task, today. Coming to the muddle that is being brought in the educational field by the decision of the 'left' front government to abolish teaching of English in the Primary stage, Comrade Mukherjee recalled the fight that Vidyasagar had to wage against the conservative forces and vested interest of his time. Comrade Mukherjee said: Vidyasagar stood for scientific education and English, it being the medium through which the advanced knowledge of the time could be gathered. How correct was his approach. It was the educated section having the knowledge of English, not only imbibed the national consciousness through advanced thoughts of the time but it is this section which rose in revolt first, against the alien rule. English worked as the bridge of unity being the means of communication of this consciousness of nationhood in between the people of different nationalities speaking different dialects. Today, by replacement of English in the Primary stage, not only the poor and common people are being deprived of easy access to higher education but this bond of cohesion between people speaking different dialects is being weakened. This can be the scheming of the reactionary bourgeois parties but how can a party calling itself a Marxist, having a modicum of understanding about the Marxist stand on linguistics and the awareness of its task of not only defending the unity and cohesion of the proletariat and toiling people of different nationalities but consolidating that unity by bringing about completion of the unfinished tasks of bourgeois democratic revolution in the social-cultural-ethical fields, can take such anti-people steps and measures?

In order to know the reason for these kinds of anti-people, anti-democratic steps and measures like

suppression of legitimate democratic movements of the oppressed masses against the onslaughts of capital, weakening of the bond of unity of the toiling people by linguistic parochialism, racial and communal disharmonies, robbing of the autonomy and freedom of educational institutions, giving free hand to hoarders and speculators and the bureaucracy including the police etc. we are to probe deeply into the very motives and designs of the crisis-ridden ruling capitalist class.

We are to know that Indian capitalism which has not only developed to the stage of monopoly capital but has given birth to monopoly finance capital through the merger of banking capital with industrial capital and today is exporting capital as distinguished from export of commodities and thus is revealing the distinct characteristic features of imperialism, has completely exhausted its progressive role and become thoroughly reactionary as a link in the worldwide chain of reaction of imperialism-capitalism. In the concrete background of third phase of intense crisis of world capitalist market when the relative stability of the market has completely disappeared, Indian capitalist class faced with unprecedented crisis, is opposing revival of even the relative democratic rights and liberties, norms and values, ethics in public life and the relative neutrality in administration. On the one hand, it is suppressing all legitimate democratic movements of the toiling people and is, at the same time, conspiring to bring division and disunity among the people by inciting racial, communal and other parochial feelings, prejudices and superstitions. The sole intention is to put a brake to the process of unity and cohesion of the toiling people of different nationalities as a class and to the direction of their struggle on the basis

of class consciousness, against the capitalist exploitative system.

Anybody conversant with this objective reality, should know very well that whatever be the form of a bourgeois constitution—even in the model federal constitutions like that of the USA and Switzerland, the degree of centralisation and concentration of capital has made this constitutional form, illusory. Centralism in the political system, finance, and administration is very much in these countries. Fascist economic base and fascisation of administration have been built up. Such concentration of political, economic and administrative power has become the universal feature in all the bourgeois countries, today. So, the real question to the toiling masses is the dictatorship of capital which has got to be overthrown and replaced instead by the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why no Marxist worth the name can substitute class struggle and revolution by the demand for so-called federalism. To raise such slogan like more powers to the states, any defence for regional parochialism be it under what cover, means to disrupt the process of unity and cohesion of the toiling people and divert their attention from the all important task of accelerating class struggle against capitalist exploitation and the exploiting class to something formal and thus helpful to the ruling class. True, there have been bureaucratic tyranny and obstructions from the Central Government like dissolution of assemblies, blocking of state bills etc. They should undoubtedly be removed. But how can it be done? Can it be done by haggling with the central ministers or it should be done by organising movements and that too in the interest of furthering democratic movement and the cause of working people. Those who do not view the problem in the perspective

of struggle, want to use the issue only for parliamentary bargain and want to confine it within parliamentary forum, have no intention to further the cause of democratic rights and movement. But CPI(M), the self-styled 'Marxist' Party is exactly doing that. It is doing this service for the ruling class. No wonder therefore that the bourgeoisie has been giving it all the backing since the last parliamentary poll. Poll results in West Bengal and Tripura would only measure that support. CPI(M) has been chosen as the third alternative in the bourgeois conspiracy of installing two-party system which it did through the last parliamentary election. CPI(M)'s West Bengal State Secretary and a polit Bureau member made no mistake to announce that from the platform of its last state conference. Today, elections in the main, are no longer to record the verdict of the people but to record the choice of the ruling class—its chambers of commerce, press and moneybags through political corruption and deceits of the bureaucratic top hierarchy. But people's real verdict never comes through ballot box. It comes through a different path—the path of revolution. Our country too will not be an exception. It is sure to come guided by the great revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and on the base political line of the proletariat—anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution.

In a moving appeal to the students, Comrade Mukherjee said: I will demand of you—know the truth by scientific methodology. Know the party which is providing the correct guidance for the emancipation of the society from capitalist bondage and will lead it to the completion of the historic task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country. Learn and re-learn the great revolutionary teachings and lessons from

(Contd. to Page 8)

Indian Monopoly Capital has become a partner of International Trust and Cartel what the Comprador or the Stooge of Imperialism cannot

(Contd. from Page 3)

That means, in pre-revolutionary China, the struggle of the agricultural labourers, share-croppers and the poor peasants against the rich peasants did not assume the character of major contradiction in class struggles in the villages. But here in our country, the landless labourers, the share-croppers and the poor peasants are actually engaged in a life and death battle against not only that section of the big land owners who have under their possession, lands much above ceiling laws by means of 'benam' transfer but even against that section who own 60 to 75 bighas of land and who belong to rich peasants or jotedar class in the villages. Starting from the Naxalites, all without exception who are serious about organising struggle in the interest of landless peasants, share-croppers and poor peasants, in reality, have to wage struggle against the rich peasants or jotedars. Otherwise despite phrase-mongering and tall talks about upholding the cause of poor peasants, in reality, they will subserve the interest of the rural jotedars or rich peasants in the villages. Are not the struggles of the peasantry that are being conducted against the jotedars in the villages to-day in fact, struggles directed against this rich peasants? It is obvious then that those rich peasants who were allies of Chinese revolution against the feudal lords are enemies of Indian revolution and as a class stand as allies of national bourgeoisie in power in our country and who have transformed land into the means of capitalist production of agricultural commodities for national capitalist market.

Let us now make a comparative study of the character of Indian state with that of pre-revolutionary China. According to the analysis given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung the character of the state of China before revolution was semi-colonial, semi-feudal that is to say, it was pre-capitalist, decentralised and medieval in nature. Moreover, there was no unified, consolidated and centralised administration in China. The whole of China was divided into spheres of influence of this or that imperialist power. And these areas were under the separate and effective control and administration of different warlords who were the stooges of this or that imperialist power. A Central Government, only in name, to maintain liaison existed in Nanking. These warlords had respective armies of their own and they were often engaged in war amongst themselves. Even at times, these warlords revolted and engaged themselves in war against this so-called Central Government in Nanking. Naturally, under such a situation it was not possible for a national sovereign parliament or a centralised national army to grow and function and these were, in fact not there. Has this any semblance with the present Indian state structure? Rather, on the contrary just like any other modern capitalist state, in India, there exist a well-knit, centralised, modern state-structure with a most centralised national army at the centre and a sovereign parliament with which pre-revolutionary China has no similarity, whatsoever.

So, you see, be it in class-character of the state, in the formation and character of the national bourgeoisie, in the character of the rural economy, in class disposition of forces as also in the character of the main contradiction of class struggle in the countryside—on no account the strategy of revolution in our country can be one and the same with that of the Chinese revolution.

The Guerrilla tactics has got nothing to do with People's Democratic Revolution

I feel that the Naxalites have confused another issue too. They have confused the tactics of encircling the cities creating liberated zones in the countryside and the theory of People's Democratic Revolution with the question of adopting the guerrilla tactics—as if two are synonymous. But the theory of New Democratic Revolution and the tactics of encircling the cities creating liberated zones in the countryside were not taken up just to adopt the tactics of guerrilla warfare. The two main reasons due to which the tactics of encircling the cities creating liberated zones in the countryside was adopted in China were: First, politically the presence of a medieval decentralised state structure, absence of modern developed type of communication and transport system in the country, existence of separate spheres of influence administered by the warlords who were

stooges of different imperialist powers and rivalry, clashes and conflicts between the different warlords; and secondly, economically the existence of a self-sufficient localised rural economy instead of a unified national capitalist economy in the country. It is mainly due to these two political and economic factors that made it possible in China to effectively implement in practice the tactics of encircling the cities by creating rural liberated zones. The tactics of guerrilla warfare or of encircling the cities by creating liberated zones in the countryside has no direct bearing on the theory of People's Democratic Revolution. You should remember that, be it a national liberation struggle, a People's Democratic Revolution or a Socialist Revolution—the tactics of guerrilla warfare would have to be adopted by the revolutionaries, wherever the struggle against the ruling clique would be protracted in nature. Moreover, due to the particularity of contradiction in each country, wherever the revolutionaries will conduct guerrilla war against the ruling clique, they will have to concretise, elaborate and add to the tactics of guerrilla warfare depending upon specific situation. Otherwise, they would not be able to practise the tactics of guerrilla war merely by copying. Thus, you understand that the guerrilla tactics has nothing to do whether with encircling the cities by rural liberated zones or with the theory of People's Democratic Revolution, although the Naxalites have bracketed these together.

Here, another serious point should be borne in mind which the Naxalite leaders and cadres are not at all taking into account. That is, before going in for direct uprising, armed struggle and the guerrilla war, the CPC, in the concrete Chinese situation, built up widespread Co-operatives and peasant organisations. Without widespread and popular mass support the guerrilla war would not have lasted long even in China. Here also we find that the *modus operandi* of the Naxalites has nothing in common with Mao's thought.

The Naxalites have surpassed the theory of Che Guevara and are almost chewing the cud of 'Debre theory' in the name of revolution

From what the Naxalites, are actually practising now-a-days, in the name of revolution, it is clear that they have gone a step further from the theory of Che Guevara and are following a line almost akin to 'Debre theory' and this they are trying to pass on as Mao Tse-tung Thought. The Debre theory, in essence, virtually negates the indispensable necessity of conducting painstaking ideological-political struggles within the country in order to strengthen step by step the real revolutionary party of the proletariat and develop the mass organisations under it—the very pre-conditions without fulfilling which no actual struggle for seizure of power can start. But it holds that only if the revolutionaries can divide themselves into small groups and engage in stray, individual terrorism that will attract the masses towards revolution, then and there, and the revolutionary organisations will automatically grow up; thus, if the revolutionaries, in small groups, can endanger the state machinery by their continued acts of stray terrorism then the anti-socials even who are also exploited under the present social system and political set up, being inspired, will join in these activities to harass the state machinery; seizing this opportunity the agent-provocateurs also will precipitate such activities; even the police personnels, the spies will, at times, engage in such terrorist activities from personal animosity to annihilate their rivals; hence in the name of revolution, there will be incidents of thefts, dacoities, murders and individual terrorism and a general feeling of insecurity will prevail in the country; thus revolution will come automatically. These have nothing to do with Mao Tse-tung and his Thoughts. Rather, these so-called theories are totally alien to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought, but prototype of Debre's theory—the Naxalites are trying to pass it on as Mao Tse-tung Thought. By providing wrong informations to CPC about the political situation and the conditions of people's movement in our country, on the one hand, while on the other, indulging in such activities in the name of Mao which are not consistent with Mao's teachings, they are lowering the prestige of Chinese Communist Party and such a great leader as Mao Tse-tung in the eye of the politically ignorant and "uninformed masses".

(To be Concluded)

In Reply to CPI(M)-SFI's Slander against AIDSO

An article with the title "SFI victories in West Bengal" has been published in People's Democracy, the English organ of CPI (M) on January 29. In this article which gives a detailed account of SFI's victories in the students' union elections, CPI (M) has distorted facts and made slanderous allegations against AIDSO with the sole purpose of covering up their undemocratic conduct and activities. This gives rise to a fundamental question—and that is the question of ethics in the field of politics. Politics should be governed by some ethical norms and a sense of morality. If ethics and morality are discarded the result is disastrous, more so when the Party concerned proclaims itself Marxist, because this destroys not only all respect for politics in the public mind but even spoils the nobility of Marxism in the eyes of the people.

With their article the CPI (M) has once more shown that their politics is based not on political norms but on lies and slander. Let us cite but a few of their lies and distortions. They have written that in the election to the students' union of North Bengal University SFI bagged all the seats except one, defeating a combination of Chhatra Parishad, DSO and some Naxalite elements. The truth is that as a result of a secret understanding between SFI and the authorities—a feature present in almost every college election, this time—all the nomination papers of the students' organisations who opposed SFI were cancelled on the most flimsy pretexts. Only one nomination paper was not cancelled to keep up the show. So only in one seat there was a contest and in that contest SFI got defeated by a large margin. That is how SFI "won" the students' union. The slander in SFI's allegation about DSO's combination with Chhatra Parishad is clearly evident from the fact that DSO did not contest there at all. An equal distortion of facts we find in SFI's claim for victory in Technology Faculty of Jadavpur University. To quote their article: "Elections to 68 out of 85 seats were held in the Technology Faculty of Jadavpur University. Of these the SFI won 34. The DSO—here again a Chhatra Parishad-DSO-

Naxalite combine—got 24.The DSO, taking advantage of the fact that the politics of the Chhatra Parishad so rampant during the past five or six years had made a large number of students apathetic to politics in general, posed itself as an apolitical organisation and could rally some support." In reality a front of left and democratic minded students—the DSF—was formed through DSO's initiative. That DSF is not a combination of DSO-Naxalite and Chhatra Parishad is shown clearly by the fact that in those seats where DSF put up candidates Chhatra Parishad put up their own candidates separately. Perhaps SFI can explain how it is possible to combine with Chhatra Parishad and at the same time contest them in each seat separately. Besides, all of DSF's slogans and their resolutions were directed against the Congress politics of Chhatra Parishad and the opportunism practised by SFI in the name of leftism. Is it because DSF's political campaign was directed against SFI that they do not consider it as political? We may mention further that SFI was not victorious as their paper would have us believe, but actually the DSF won 41 seats while the SFI got only 27 seats. Such lies are scattered throughout the entire article. Thus SFI or rather CPI (M)'s claim that SFI was victorious in the Bengal

Engineering College at Shibpur (Howrah) is equally false. It was the Students' Association who won 15 seats out of 25 seats whereas SFI got only 10 seats. A similar claim SFI has made in regard to APC (Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy) Polytechnic. There SFI did not get a majority either, while the Students' Struggle Committee (comprising DSO and other leftist students' organisations) got 21 seats out of 39 seats, in spite of various attempts to manipulate the election in that college and to confuse the students by spreading lies etc. Again, SFI claims to have been victorious in Srirampur College, and Calcutta Medical College. But the astonishing fact is, in both the colleges the students union elections have not yet taken place. We don't know how it has been possible for SFI to become victorious even before the elections have been held. Perhaps the fact will not be so astonishing after all, when we shall get the result of the elections. Again they write that SFI is holding the Union in Charuchandra (Day) and Charuchandra (Evening) in alliance with some other students' organisation. In Charuchandra (Day) SFI got only 1 seat out of a total of 20 seats and in Charuchandra (Evening) Chhatra Parishad got a majority. How can they claim Chhatra Parishad's victory as their own we fail to understand. These are but a few examples of such distortions. Besides, may we ask SFI which always claims to have taken a consistent anti-Chhatra Parishad stand all these years, what they did when the Congress came back to power in West Bengal by the rigged election in 1972 and the Chhatra Parishad with the backing of police and help of anti-social elements, whom they brought into the colleges, creating an atmosphere of terror and violence?

Reducing the students' union elections to a mere farce the Chhatra Parishad forcefully captured the students' unions in a most undemocratic way and prevented the functioning of other students' organisation within the college by any means. Where was SFI then? What did they do to fight this type of politics? They have no answer. Their leaders got cold feet, whereas DSO, inspired with the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist philosopher and thinker of the era, courageously fought against those politics of the Chhatra Parishad. But they had to pay for their fight. There are scores of instances where DSO students became victims of vandalism by the Chhatra Parishad, even girl students were not spared. SFI's allegations against DSO are completely baseless and are motivated by blind hatred and panic because their sham-Marxism is getting exposed by the ideological campaign of DSO and SUC. Again SFI has suddenly, in a most generous mood, become so democratic as to publish the victory list of their sworn enemy, the Chhatra Parishad, while carefully omitting to mention the victories of the other leftist student organisations particularly DSO. What does it indicate? Is it DSO who is moving with Chhatra Parishad or SFI? Actually, after taking such pains to malign DSO, SFI tries to convey the impression that except for SFI and Chhatra Parishad there are no other forces among the students worth mentioning, that the other organisations are no factor at all because in the student community, too, they want to project these two organisations. This is nothing but a reflection of the two party system which the bourgeoisie is trying to establish in our country, by putting up Congress and Janata alternately before the people. And for the same purpose, to put up a third alternative before the people they have started

backing up CPI (M). In the same way they want to bring SFI and Chhatra Parishad to the forefront in the students' community. DSO is the only revolutionary force among the students whose growth spells doom for SFI as it means its increasing exposure and isolation. That is why they want to obstruct the growth of DSO. And here lies the common meeting ground between SFI and Chhatra Parishad. They are united in their common aim to obstruct DSO's revolutionary politics. This is one aspect but there is another aspect, an important aspect too.

After the CPI(M) led "Left" Front Government had been established in 1977 the CPI(M) leaders not only promised to restore and preserve the democratic rights but also assured the people that the history of the second UF in 1969 and those violent incidents would not be repeated. So the student community, too, was full of hope that CPI(M) and their students organisation SFI, having taken lessons from the past, would apply themselves to the task of restoring a healthy democratic atmosphere in colleges, too, and the students would be able to elect their representatives in a democratic way. But long before the elections took place many incidents in connection with preparations for these revealed the sad truth that far from restoring a healthy democratic atmosphere, SFI adopted the same methods the Chhatra Parishad had used all these years with the addition of some more sophisticated means, that is, manipulation of the election with the help of the authority. Thus, for example, the election committees which are formed in every college comprising college teachers and professors, were set up in such a way that CPI(M) supporters formed a clear majority; some supporters of Congress and Janata were included but any SUC supporter was most carefully excluded, even though they be important (Contd. from Page 7)

W.B.State Conference of DSO

(Contd. from Page 5)

the life of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great teacher of the proletariat and carry them deep down to the masses who are searching for them. Develop the legitimate democratic mass struggles on the edifice of higher proletarian ethics and morality so that peoples' own political power can emerge through its concrete expression—the People's Committees. Hold aloft the banner of revolution—the banner of great revolutionary thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and defeat the conspiracy of the bourgeois and social democratic parties. Win your victories.

Long Live Revolution !

Long Live **Comrade**

Shibdas Ghosh !

Inaugurating the Exhibition of Quotations from **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, **Comrade Provash Ghosh**, president of AIDS0 said in his brief speech : In every country, in every age, time came when darkness prevailed, the march of civilisation was halted. Men searched for light, for leadership in their struggle for emancipation. Out of the inner urge of the society to move, from the social necessity, from the contradiction and conflict arose the leadership—human civilisation took its stride. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's** great revolutionary thoughts provide us that light, the path of emancipation to come out of the impasse, the degeneration caused by moribund capitalist order that now envelops our society.

Comrade Ghosh's unique revolutionary life gives us, will give the toiling people great inspiration. His was a lone but valiant fight, surrounded on all sides by the forces of reaction and the forces of compromise. Yet, today, the party founded by Him, and the mass organisations guided by His thoughts is the beacon light to the oppressed masses—the students included.

Paying glowing tribute to the heroes and martyrs of the national freedom

movement and the illustrious sons of the soil like Vidyasagar, Khudiram, **Comrade Provash Ghosh** showed that in the continuity of the noble heritage of their struggle, as also with a break **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** appeared. Not only that, without understanding the great revolutionary thought of **Comrade Ghosh**, it will not be possible to have an adequate understanding about revolutionary Marxism today as it was impossible to understand Marx without understanding Lenin in the imperialist stage of capitalism.

Comrade Provash Ghosh reminded : It was not possible by the bourgeoisie and its henchmen to obstruct the path of Russian Revolution guided by Leninist revolutionary thoughts. So also, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's** thoughts guide the revolutionary struggle in our country which will definitely grow as an invincible force, one day.

Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, General Secretary, AIDS0, **Sanjit Biswas**, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, **Bhaskar Gupta**, **Dipankar Roy** also spoke. DSO music squad presented revolutionary songs. **Comrade Salim Shah**, Secretary Reception Committee gave the welcome address. **Comrade Soumen Bose**, Secretary, Midnapur District Committee, SUCI Presided.

Red Salute Comrade Abdus Sadek

(Contd. from Page 1)

Comrade Prangour Basak, Secretary of the Murshidabad District Committee of the SUCI, has sent a memorandum to the Chief Minister of the State, Inspector General and the District Superintendent of police demanding immediate arrest of all the miscreants involved in this heinous murder.

On the last 21st February, **Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar** MLA, the leader of the SUCI in the State Assembly, with a view to drawing the

(Contd. from Page 7) personalities in the academic field. These committees ostensibly formed to look after the smooth running of the election, left no stone unturned and used the most mean and undemocratic means to help ensure SFI's 'victories', while keeping the democratic appearance intact.

To mention but one of such instances : in Shyamaprasad College, all the nomination papers, with the exception of four, of the organisations who opposed SFI were cancelled. Again in Hooghly Women's College, when the college was closed, during the night the election com-

mission put up a signboard announcing the following day as the last date for submission of nomination papers. As a result no organisation was able to put up any candidate with the exception of SFI, who "won" in this way uncontested. In some colleges where attempts to cancel nomination papers failed partly or completely because of strong united protest of the students another means to defeat the opponents was used—change of election time. Thus, for example, in Jadavpur polytechnic a teacher who is a supporter of CPI(M) went into the classes and said that the following day, the election day,

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SOCIALIST UNITY
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I, Sukomal Dasgupta hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sd/- SUKOMAL DASGUPTA
Signature of Publisher.

was a holiday. As a result on the voting day many students did not come to college in the belief that there was a holiday and as there were only a few students present the voting time was reduced from two hours to one hour. So those students who arrived later, on hearing that elections were being held, were deprived of their

To pay homage to the revolutionary memory of **Comrade Sadek**, Red Flag was flown halfmast in the offices of the Hariharpara Thana Committee and the Murshidabad District Committee Office of the SUCI.

right to vote.

Similarly, in Behala College of Commerce the time for voting was secretly advanced and after all the SFI supporters had put their votes, the college was surrounded by SFI and anti-social elements and bombs were thrown at the gates so that the majority of students were unable even to enter the college not to speak of voting. Similar incidents happened in many colleges. But the worst method, reminding the issue of duplicate ballots during the Parliamentary and Assembly elections, was the circulation of extra fee books to organise false voting. To provide such false voters the CPI(M) party machinery itself was used. Thus, some such false voters were caught redhanded in Surendranath College and South City College by the other students' organisations. But when they brought such a false voter before the vice-principal in South City College they were advised : 'Let him go, what's the use of catching him, SFI will win this way or that way.'

Yet after all this CPI(M) feels no compunction in writing in their article in People's Democracy : 'This year students' union election bear special significance in the sense that it is after a period of six or seven years of semi-fascist terror that the students are exercising their democratic right to elect their representatives'. Where will this lead us ? What the Congress stands for everybody knows ; but when CPI(M) tramples underfoot all democratic norms and morality the first casualty will be leftism itself. If a more reactionary Government comes to power in West Bengal and applies these same fascist methods then what answer will the CPI(M) give them ? We appeal to all CPI(M) workers and supporters to deeply ponder over these questions and to put pressure on their party to abandon these undemocratic and unethical methods and conduct.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE